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INDEX

EXTERNAL - POLITICAL

1. Soviet Foreign Relations
2. Disarmament and Nuclear Testing
3. Berlin/Germany
4. Outer Space Cooperation
5. Congo
6. Shah's Visit to US

INTERNAL - POLITICAL

7. Kirilenko to Presidium - Spiridonov Out of Secretariat
8. New Council of Ministers Differs Little from Old
9. Khrushchev Calls for New All-People's Constitution
10. XIV Congress of All-Union Leninist League of Youth

MILITARY (ARMY)

1. Warsaw Pact Maneuvers
2. Second Rehearsal of Red Square for May Day Parade
3. 17th Anniversary of US-Soviet Troops Meeting on Elbe River
4. Soviet Civil Air Fleet Demonstration

CGleysteen/ADubs/
KBJenkins/RTDavies/
JDHemenway/KSMidthun/
Col. PLUrban:hp

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APR 27 1962
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EXTERNAL - POLITICAL

1. Soviet Foreign Relations: The main external developments treated by the Soviet public media during the week were the resumption of atmospheric nuclear testing by the US and the discussion of foreign policy at the Supreme Soviet session. An account of Khrushchev's April 20 interview with the American publisher Gardiner Cowles was put out by TASS on April 25, but was not published by the Soviet newspapers until April 27. Thus during the reporting week of April 19 - 26, even though this period covered the opening of the Supreme Soviet session, Khrushchev did not act as the spokesman for the Soviet foreign policy. This task was left to Foreign Minister Gromyko.

Gromyko's April 24 Supreme Soviet speech, true to its title, dealt only with the Geneva negotiations, ignoring the other major current preoccupations of Soviet external affairs such as the intra-bloc crisis and the exploitation of colonial issues. On the whole, Gromyko offered a pessimistic outlook on disarmament and an encouraging prospect for negotiations on Germany/Berlin. Gromyko sought to convey the impression that Soviet policy in both these areas is steady and consistent with the complex aims of preserving world peace and spreading the influence of the world Communist movement or "peaceful coexistence." He made a brief digression on his visit to Yugoslavia, making it appear that this was also related mainly to disarmament and that he was able to reach an understanding with the Yugoslavs that their position and the Soviet position on disarmament questions are "in effect identical." One of the most interesting points in Gromyko's speech was his imprecise suggestion that Moscow favors a summit meeting for the final phase of negotiations on Berlin.

The resumption of atmospheric nuclear testing by the US on April 25 did not produce an immediate propaganda campaign to stir up indignation against the US of the type of which Moscow frequently has mounted on other comparable occasions in the past.

Internal bloc questions received little attention and there were no hints as to how Soviet-Chinese relations have been affected by the recently-concluded National Peoples Congress in Peking.

2. Disarmament and Nuclear Testing: Gromyko's April 24 "Report on the Geneva Negotiations" to the Supreme Soviet hardly matched the advance billing given by Pravda that the discussion of this problem would represent a "new step" in the Soviet struggle for disarmament. Gromyko offered a very pessimistic outlook on the Geneva negotiations. His cynical and even flippant treatment of the recently tabled US draft disarmament treaty suggested that propaganda aspects are currently playing a more significant role in the current Soviet approach to disarmament than the desire to make a genuine effort to seek areas of agreement. It was noteworthy that Gromyko openly recognized that the Chinese People's Republic cannot be committed to a disarmament agreement without its participation, thus acknowledging the correctness of the Chicom position expressed in an April 3 editorial in the People's Daily.

Soviet news coverage from Geneva gave readers here the impression that the Soviet Union had accepted the 8-nation memorandum on testing as a basis for

further negotiation while the US and UK hesitated to do so, adhering to "old positions" having to do with international inspection and control.

In reporting the first US nuclear test at Christmas Island, the Soviet press did not go beyond noting the time and place of the shot. Brief news despatches from various cities throughout the world were so written to convey the impression that the US test had raised wide popular indignation. During the week, an unsigned commentary in Pravda had charged that the US tests would be the most "dirty" of all those conducted anywhere and that the fallout would first hit such areas as Indonesia, India, South Vietnam, etc. At the same time, the commentary asserted that last year's Soviet test series had resulted in a minimum of contamination of the atmosphere.

3. Berlin/Germany. The somewhat optimistic treatment of the Berlin discussions which has been apparent in Soviet information media material since the RUSK-GROMYKO Geneva communique, was one of the most notable features of Gromyko's speech to the Supreme Soviet. Gromyko claimed that progress has occurred on the basis of the following considerations: the US has declared its desire to seek agreed solutions to questions relating to the liquidation of the vestiges of World War II; American agreement that no obstacles exist to associating free access with respect for GDR sovereignty; Soviet-GDR agreement to the establishment of an international access authority to mediate access disputes; mutual agreement on the necessity to conclude a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In listing Soviet demands, Gromyko stressed the need to liquidate the "occupation regime." While the standard Soviet separate peace treaty threat also was repeated, it was overshadowed by the over-all tenor of hopefulness in Gromyko's remarks on Berlin.

The Soviet press has also continued to report, without comment, the talks between the Secretary and Ambassador DOBRYNIN. This is in contrast to the silence maintained throughout the earlier phase of the bilateral talks in Moscow.

Another novel element in characterization of the current status of Berlin negotiations was presented by the rather ostentatious press reports of calls by Soviet Ambassadors in East Berlin, Bucharest, Budapest, Warsaw, Sofia, and Prague on the various satellite leaders to brief them on the US-Soviet exchanges concerning Berlin and Germany. Nothing comparable has occurred since the Warsaw Pact meeting in August 1961.

4. Outer Space Cooperation. At a time when the question of US-Soviet cooperation in outer space is under active discussion, it was of interest that Pravda on April 23 published a special interview with A. A. ZOLOTUKHIN, Chief of the Main Administration of the Hydrometeorological Services of the USSR. After describing the shortcomings of present day weather forecasting, Zolotukhin asserted that the most effective way to increase the accuracy of long-range weather forecasting is through the path of international cooperation in the use of artificial earth satellites. He concluded that there could be no doubt that peaceful cooperation between the USSR and the US in outer space would contribute to a softening of the political climate, but also maintained the position that full cooperation is dependent upon disarmament.

5. Congo. The Soviet view of Gizenga's plight was again brought to the attention of Soviet readers through a TASS correspondent's report of an interview with Gizenga. According to this correspondent, Gizenga complained: (1) that he was not receiving proper medical attention; (2) that his parliamentary immunity had been crudely violated; (3) that his communications with the outside world were evidently not reaching their destination; and (4) that his family was without means of existence. Gizenga demanded in the interview that he be given the right to reply to any charges against him before the parliament to which he was elected and to the Congolese people.

The TASS correspondent concluded that his visit with Gizenga refuted claims of "certain official spokesmen" and the reactionary press about the lawfulness of Gizenga's arrest and that Gizenga was receiving humane treatment.

6. Shah's Visit to US. According to an Izvestiya Observer article published on April 20, one of the main reasons for the Shah's visit to the US was to acquire modern arms, particularly missiles. Such an intention, the article asserted, was inconsistent with the Shah's earlier protestation that Iran would never be a base for aggression against the Soviet Union. The article warned that it would not be in the interest of either Iran or the Shah personally to brandish someone else's weapons in front of neighbors. Then taking a familiar line, the article went on to argue that large Iranian expenditures for arms would not correct Iran's critical economic situation and that Iran ought to pursue a policy of neutrality and friendly relations with all countries including neighbors.

INTERNAL - POLITICAL

7. Kirilenko to Presidium - Spiridonov Out of Secretariat. Less than six months after the reorganization of the top Party organs which followed the XXII CPSU Congress, two adjustments have been made in their composition. On April 26, following the conclusion of the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet, the Soviet press published a cryptic communique announcing that a plenum of the Party's Central Committee had met "during the course of the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR"; had "reviewed problems of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and organizational questions"; had elected A. P. KIRILENKO, First Secretary of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Party Committee, a full member of the Central Committee Presidium, and had "released comrade I. V. SPIRIDONOV from the duties of Secretary of the CC-CPSU in connection with his election as Chairman of the Council of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR."

While the communique thus failed to give the date of the Central Committee meeting, there was good reason to believe it had taken place, not "during the session of the Supreme Soviet," which opened at 4:00 p.m. on the afternoon of April 23, but before the session began. When the Party leadership appeared in its loges at the opening meetings of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet, Kirilenko was observed by foreign newsmen among the full members of the Presidium who attended the Council of the Union and his name was listed in the following morning's press in cyrillic alphabetical order between those of full members VORONOV and POLYAN. Spiridonov did not appear in the leadership loge

with the secretaries of the Central Committee and his name was not listed with theirs in the April 24 press.

The significance of the Kirilenko and Spiridonov shifts was far from clear. The present situation of both men is to some degree anomalous. Kirilenko, who was dropped as a Presidium candidate-member following the XXII CPSU Congress, has made a rare come-back and even bettered his pre-Congress standing. He is now, however, the only First Secretary of an oblast -- although it is an important one -- among the full members of the Presidium, and the only full member, apart from the Ukrainian Party First Secretary, PODGORNY, who does not hold a high Government or Party post in Moscow. Spiridonov's political weight has diminished as a result of his exchange of the CC Secretary's post for the largely ceremonial job of Chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, a position held in the outgoing Supreme Soviet by P. P. LOBANOV, a candidate-member of the Central Committee until he was dropped following the XXII Congress.

There was no indication in the Central Committee communique or in the Supreme Soviet session that Kirilenko and Spiridonov would leave their primary functions, the Sverdlovsk Oblast and Leningrad City First Secretaryships, respectively. Perhaps, despite the slight irregularity involved in holding a Central Committee plenum before the Supreme Soviet session and then depicting it as having taken place during the session, the leadership wished to observe the "Leninist norms of Party life" and leave it to the Sverdlovsk and Leningrad organizations to go through the motions of releasing them from their First Secretaryships and electing their successors.

In view of the unsettled problems confronting the leadership, the past positions of the two men were of some interest. On the question of the "anti-Party group", Kirilenko had been one of those who, at the XXII Congress, had supported the idea of the exclusion of MALENKOV, KAGANOVICH, and MOLOTOV from the Party, listing the three men in that order, although he appeared to be somewhat hesitant in his inclusion of Molotov ("as well as, I should say, the ideological inspirer of the anti-Party group, Molotov"). He did not, however, call for the "group" to "answer to the Party and people," and was not conspicuous in accusing them of guilt for "mass repressions."

Spiridonov had been a leader of the attack on the "anti-Party group" at the XXI Party Congress (at which Kirilenko spoke of the "group" as having been definitively defeated) and, at the XXII Congress, had accused the leaders of the group of sharing "personal responsibility" for the mass repressions of the STALIN era. He did not, however, call clearly for their expulsion.

That the question of the "anti-Party group" has recently been subject to some further discussion within the leadership appeared to be indicated by the April 22 speech of CC Secretary ILYICHEV, who, in referring to the "group", reverted to the pre-XXII Congress practise of listing Malenkov first and assigning Molotov a subsidiary position. This was peculiar, since, in talking to Gardner COWLES on April 20, Khrushchev had continued to name Molotov as the first of the "group's" leaders and had specifically pooh-poohed Malenkov's importance. Ilyichev also spoke of the group as having been "ideologically and politically defeated", although, at the XXII Congress, he had been prominent in

the effort to depict Molotov as the "group's" still active leader and ideologist and had called for their expulsion from the Party.

The Kirilenko and Spiridonov moves thus gave the impression of half-measures taken in preparation for further changes. What these may be is now far from clear.

8. New Council of Ministers Differs Little from Old. The composition of the new Soviet Government, which Khrushchev presented to the Supreme Soviet for its unanimous approval on April 25, differs little on its face from that of its predecessor.

M. A. LESECHKO, earlier a First Deputy Chairman of Gosplan, was identified as Chairman of the Commission of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers on Foreign Economic Problems, a rare reference to a Commission of the Council's Presidium, which itself is infrequently referred to. Lesechko's name was listed immediately following the Deputy Chairmen of the Council, who, with its Chairman (Khrushchev) and First Deputy Chairmen (KOSYGIN and MIKOYAN), comprise the Presidium of the Council, and immediately before the other members of the Council. It is not clear whether this is a new appointment, or simply the surfacing of a position Lesechko has held for some time.

Minister without portfolio I. G. KABANOV, who was dropped from the CPSU Central Committee following the XXII Party Congress, was not reappointed. Although he lost the Ministry of Foreign Trade in August 1958, he appears to have continued to work in this field. He assisted Mikoyan, for example, when the latter received a group of Japanese businessmen on July 12, 1961 (Pravda, July 13, 1961).

The appearance of Lesechko as Chairman of the Commission on Foreign Economic Problems, presumably one of Mikoyan's chief areas of responsibility, and Kabanov's disappearance from the Council recalled the signs of instability in Mikoyan's position which were visible last January (WEEKA No. 3, January 19). In contrast to the fashion in which the outgoing Council of Ministers was presented in 1958, Kosygin's name is now listed ahead of Mikoyan's. There is thus a possibility that the relative ranking of the two First Deputy Chairmen of the Council has been reversed. Mikoyan's career has been remarkable for its ups and downs and for his long-term staying power.

K. G. PYSIN, a full member of the Central Committee CPSU who had been First Deputy Minister of Agriculture, replaced M. A. OLSHANSKY, whose removal had been foreshadowed when he was elected to replace T. D. LYSENKO as President of the All-Union Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences on April 5. Olshansky is a Central Committee candidate-member. His subordinate Party standing in relation to his First Deputy Minister presumably meant that Pysin had been the real power in the Ministry since he entered it in the spring of 1961.

S. K. ROMANOVSKY was elevated from Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries to replace G. A. ZHUKOV, who, according to TASS's English-language wire on April 25, will return to his earlier occupation of journalism. There are various rumors among Soviet

correspondents on Zhukov's future employment. According to one, he will become Pravda editor (whether this means Chief Editor or just one of the Party organ's subordinate editors, is not specified); according to another, he will merely become a columnist for Pravda. At a Canadian Embassy reception on the evening of April 23, FURTSEVA was observed offering him congratulations and best wishes for success. If Zhukov is to occupy only a subordinate post in the hierarchy of Soviet journalism, these congratulations may have contained a hint of irony; his name had once been among those rumored as possible replacements for Furtseva in the Ministry of Culture.

Despite the subdued character of Furtseva's activities since she was dropped from the Party Presidium at the XXII Congress, a slighting of her name in the press (cf., e.g. WEEKA No. 10, March 9), and the fact that she was not re-elected to the Supreme Soviet, she retained her position as Minister of Culture, although there continue to be rumors that she will sooner or later be appointed permanent Soviet representative to UNESCO (A-199, April 17).

N. A. TIKHONOV, a prominent metallurgical-industry administrator who accompanied Khrushchev on his visit to the United States in 1959, was appointed a Minister, as a Deputy Chairman of the State Scientific and Economic Council, in place of N. I. BOBROVNIKOV, quondam "mayor" of Moscow. Bobrovnikov is rumored to be under investigation for irregularities in Moscow City finances while he was Chairman of the City's Executive Committee (Embassy's A-815, April 17).

N. I. SMIRNOV, who was appointed to the important job of RSFSR Minister of Production and Procurement of Agricultural Products in March, naturally no longer occupies an All-Union post. His colleagues in Gosplan, G. V. PEROV, G. S. KHLAMOV, and Ye. S. NOVOSELOV, were dropped from the Council. Gosplan appears to have suffered some diminution in function and significance (see Economic WEEKA). It was criticized by a number of speakers at the XXII Congress.

The failure to introduce any new faces into the Council's Presidium makes it difficult to forecast the regime's next step in the creation of the Union Committee on Agriculture, called for by the joint Central Committee-Council of Ministers resolution of March 22. Only N. G. IGNATOV, who continues as a Deputy Chairman of the Council and as Chairman of the State Procurements Committee, appears on the surface to possess the background to qualify for the Chairmanship of the Union Agriculture Committee, which, according to the March 22 resolution, shall be held by a Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The resolution also calls for the Chairman of the State Procurements Committee to be a member of the Committee. The Supreme Soviet session contained no substantive indication of the regime's plans in this regard and was remarkable for its ignoring of the agricultural problem and the reorganization decreed by the March 5-9 Central Committee Plenum.

The final fillip in this peculiar session of the Supreme Soviet was provided by the reelection of K. Ye. VOROSHILOV to membership of its Presidium. His reelection came four days after Khrushchev, in his interview with Gardner Cowles, had said: "Molotov, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, and Malenkov believed themselves to be all-powerful. It is true that Malenkov was hardly the same sort of figure as the first three; who have behind them not a little that was also good.

But they lagged behind the times, incorrectly understood the situation, incorrectly evaluated the prospects." Khrushchev appeared thereby to have restored Voroshilov to the first rank of the leadership of the "anti-Party group", while simultaneously downgrading Malenkov's significance and adopting to some extent the position that these leaders had performed "services before the Party and the people", which made them less culpable than Malenkov.

On April 18, the Defense Ministry journal Red Star had contained an article criticizing Voroshilov for his role during the Civil War and asserting that he had been reprimanded by Lenin himself. And, in announcing the membership of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, Izvestiya (April 25) identified all those elected to it by their Party or Government titles, or, in the case of S. M. BUDENNY, whose name immediately preceded Voroshilov's, as "Marshal of the Soviet Union", but modestly identified Voroshilov only as "deputy of the Council of the Union from Kashira election district of Moscow oblast."

9. Khrushchev Calls for New All-People's Constitution. Now that N. S. Khrushchev has commemorated himself ideologically as the chief impetus behind the III Party Program, he is preparing for the further distinction of siring a new Soviet Constitution.

The First Secretary, speaking before the Supreme Soviet on April 25, announced that "the Central Committee of the Party considers . . . it necessary to form a Commission to draft a new Constitution." The Supreme Soviet decreed the formation of a Commission on the same day.

Khrushchev recalled, in his speech, that the question of a new Constitution had been raised at the XXI and XXII CPSU Congresses and said that, now that the Party Program has been adopted, the conditions have been established for drafting a new fundamental law. The new Constitution, he said, would reflect the passage from one historical stage to another, as did those of 1918, 1924, and 1936. No mention was made of Stalin and the deceased leader's claim, under Article 1 of the present Constitution, to have established a socialist state, was only conditionally recognized: the 1936 Constitution, according to Khrushchev, corresponded to the period of the "consolidation of socialism" and the completion, "in the main," of the building of a socialist society. Lenin, in the current Soviet political style, was paid tribute: his "great ideological heritage" will be an essential element in the new Constitution.

Internally, the Constitution is to be an expression of the new historical epoch of the full-scale construction of Communism and the formation of an all-people's state, in which class conflicts have been eliminated and the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer a necessary condition. Externally, it will reflect the new international position of the Soviet Union by formulating the basic principles of relations with "friendly socialist states," "countries which have freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism," and "states with different social systems." "Problems of peaceful co-existence" and of "the struggle for peace," the First Secretary said, "have acquired tremendous significance." The new document will thus presumably institutionalize "peaceful co-existence."

Besides Khrushchev's October 17, 1961 reference to the need for a new Constitution, at the XXII Party Congress, (A-420, Dec. 6, 1961), there have been previous important discussions of this question in Pravda of December 5, 1961 (WEEKA No. 49, December 8), and in Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo i Pravo (No. 10, October, 1960).

The Party will have no difficulty in controlling the Constitutional Commission. The 17 full and candidate members of Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee, 39 CPSU Central Committee members, 14 CPSU Central Committee candidate-members, and 6 members of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU, will dominate the 97-member body. Supplying literary talent will be the writers Mikhail SKOLOKHOV, K. A. FEDIN, and A. E. KORNEYCHUK. The Commission also includes members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; a member of the Supreme Court of the USSR; and a sprinkling of "labor heroes", including collective and state farm directors, the director of a Moscow ball-bearing plant, and a female tractor brigadier from Uzbekistan.

There is no reason to believe that the new Constitution will serve as a serious guide to Soviet legal and parliamentary procedure any more effectively than the last one did. The present Constitution was violated as recently as 1961, when the Supreme Soviet was convened only once rather than twice as provided in Article 46. It will, however, serve as the basis for internal and external propaganda and will presumably perpetuate the name of the Chairman of the Constitutional Commission, Khrushchev.

10. XIV Congress of All-Union Leninist League of Youth. N. S. Khrushchev again appeared at the XIV All-Union Komsomol Congress on April 19. On this occasion, the First Secretary delivered a rambling and in part impromptu speech (A-833 April 24), in which he made clear his intention not to retire because of superannuation and lectured his audience on the vices of "parasitism" and "hooliganism." The reported version of his speech was studded with "ovations" and "cries of approval," high-protocol indicators that were missing from his 1958 Komsomol Congress address. In another ritual new since the last Congress, the Komsomols chanted "Lenin Is With Us!" on each of the two occasions when Khrushchev appeared.

The Congress closed on April 20 with the election of a new secretariat and Bureau. S. P. PAVLOV was reelected First Secretary of the Central Committee.

MILITARY (ARMY)

1. WARSAW PACT MANEUVERS. According to Red Star, April 21-22, Warsaw Pact maneuvers took place in Hungary. Soviet, Hungarian, and Rumanian troops and staffs participated. The Hungarian Defense Minister, Tsinege; Soviet Defense Minister Malinovskii; Rumanian Defense Minister, Selezhan; Soviet Marshal Grechko, Command and Chief of Warsaw Pact Forces, observed the maneuvers which were followed by a military parade in Budapest, commanded by Lt. General KAROI CHEMI. KADAR also gave a dinner honoring the commanders participating in the maneuvers. Marshal MALINOVSKII returned Moscow to address Military Delegates to the 14th KOMSOMOL Congress April 21.

2. SECOND REHEARSAL OF RED SQUARE FOR MAY DAY PARADE. Two previously unidentified equipments unveiled at the second night parade rehearsal are a possible anti-tank guided missile mounted on an amphibious reconnaissance vehicle and a 76mm assault gun which may be air transportable. These appeared in the first night rehearsal on Red Square for the May 1, 1962 Moscow parade. All other rockets and missiles which participated in the rehearsals remained canvas-covered so that it is possible that additional new or modified weapons may appear on May 1.

3. 17TH ANNIVERSARY OF US-SOVIET TROOPS MEETING ON ELBE RIVER. One member of each Military Service Attache office and the Cultural Counselor attended a Soviet-sponsored meeting in Friendship House in Moscow commemorating the World War II joining of US and Soviet troops on the Elbe River. The Institute of Soviet-American Relations, Soviet Committee of War Veterans, Soviet Committee for Defense of Peace and the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with foreign Countries were the sponsoring agencies. The US representatives were seated at Presidium or speaker's table. Marshal KONEV and A.E. GOLOVANOV headed a group of 50 Soviet officers who attended. The speeches were generally mild in tone and stressed the need to revive the friendship founded on the Elbe. This was the first public appearance of Marshal Konev since his recall to Moscow from his duties as Soviet Commander in Chief of Soviet Forces in Germany. Konev was cheerful and friendly during informal conversations with US officers.

4. SOVIET CIVIL AIR FLEET DEMONSTRATION. On Soviet invitation, representatives of the three military service attache offices attended a display of civil aircraft at the Moscow Sheremetyevo Airfield. Colonel General Ye. F. LOGINOV, chief of AEROFLOT, spoke on current activities and developments. Some 200 diplomatic guests walked thru the TU 124, TU 114, TU 104, AN 10 and 10A, and AN 24 aircraft. The MI 4 helicopter was also shown. Soviet literature of these craft was distributed.

FOR THE AMBASSADOR:

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